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Short and Impartial  
CONSIDERATIONS  
UPON THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF  
AFFAIRS  
IN  
ENGLAND.

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L O N D O N:

Printed, for *Allen Banks*, and are to be Sold by  
*Richard Baldwin*, in *Warwick Lane*, MDCXCII.

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Short and Impartial

# CONSIDERATIONS

UPON

## The Present State of Affairs in ENGLAND.

**I**T is amazing to consider the strange turns of Providence in the greatest Transactions of Humane Affairs, such as the Revolutions of States, and the Changes and Alterations in Governments, which since they are God Almighty's immediate Work, and conducted by him, whose power nothing can controul; one would think they should receive their accomplishment all at once, and have their progress, and end answerable to their beginnings; whereas we often see on the contrary, that the most Glorious dawnings of Liberty are overcast on a sudden, the Springs of Actions fall from their vigour, and grow feeble, the whole Motion becomes heavy and irregular, as if the great Master Workman

had met with an Impediment, that he could not go on, and was check'd by the unworthiness of those he had begun to appear, and act for.

When *Israel* came out of *Ægypt*, and their Leader and Deliverer, especially commissioned and appointed by God, had entered upon his Charge; when Kings were confounded for their sakes, and the Sea divided to give them passage, and then return'd to its Channel to inclose, and overwhelm their Enemies, what could one expect from such a series of Miracles? but that they should have been directly conducted to *Canaan*, as fast as they could have moved upon the Wings of Victory, to take possession of a Land, which seem'd promised to their Fore-fathers for that Generation to inherit. Yet instead thereof, we find them led about in the Mazes of a Wilderness, and so long forced to wander, till two only of all that vast number, who by their growth and maturity had any remembrance of *Ægypt*, were left alive to taste the sweets of *Canaan*, the Reason whereof stands upon Sacred Record, viz. Their Ingratitude towards God, and towards Man, there is interwoven with their whole Story a strange Account, how soon they forgot the Holy One, who was so visibly present among them; to which is added their frequent murmuring against their Leaders, taking  
upon



upon themselves a liberty to censure them, and lay it as a miscarriage at their Door, if any thing happened otherwise then they expected, which was even carried to so great a Delicacy, that *Moses* was in fault, if they had not variety, as well as plenty, sometimes the Government was charged with being Arbitrary, and taking too much upon them, when a few discontented Heads of Families wanted Employments, and grumbled that they were excluded from the management of Affairs. Lastly, They are branded with a faint-heartedness, and desponding of God's power, and goodness, after so many incontestable Proofs given them of both; which was particularly remarkable after the Spies were return'd from viewing the Land, and had made their report, which they did faithfully as to the goodness of the Soil, but pusillanimously as to the difficulties that lay in the way, when only stout *Joshua*, and honest *Caleb* were neither frighten'd themselves, nor terrified others, assuring the People, there was nothing that they would not overcome with ease, for that what was on their side, was more then what was against them; but they being now strongly possess'd with imaginary Apprehensions, and fondly being imposed upon, and imposing upon others, they so far lost all sense of Manhood, that they thought it was better for them to return

## 4 The Present State of

return to their old Slavery, then to hazard any more for retaining their liberty. Their former cry was, can God furnish Water, and can he supply us with Bread in the Wilderness, and now it run, can he subdue these Sons of *Anak*, and destroy such a race of Giants. There is no doubt but the same Power which had wrought so many Miracles, can add to the number. There is no doubt but God, who had forced Nature out of its Course, can with more ease get the better of Man, however terrible we figure him to our selves. And it is most certain God will do all that he has promised; but there is no reason, they should expect to see it, who are always diffident, always tempting him, and who omit no opportunity to call his power in question, but those who had lived so long in a constant contradiction to the Divine Will, God set himself at last to contradict them, so that they were gratified with neither of their wishes, they neither were allowed to go backward to *Egypt*, nor forward to *Canaan*, but their Carcasses fell in the Wilderness. What shall I say now, that I tremble, or that I rejoyce, that our Case in *England* is so nearly parallel'd with that of the *Israelites*? It cannot be disown'd, but that our late Deliverance was the greatest, next to theirs, and it might be equall'd to it, but that ours was from an impending Bondage,

dage, and theirs from what they had groan'd  
 under some hundreds of years, neither one, nor  
 the other could be effected by our own strength,  
 or single endeavours, but in the one God ap-  
 peared by Miracles, and in the other by extraor-  
 dinary Providences, which are no less signal  
 marks of his being present among us, as also  
 that this Work is of him, and therefore it shall  
 stand, whether it receives its perfection, or not,  
 in our days, who I fear are justly to be reproached  
 with all the Folly, that *Israel* was guilty of. Can we  
 say we have had any truer Sense of what we owe  
 to God for all the Mercies he has bestowed upon  
 us, have we not rather cast him further out of  
 our thoughts? are not our profanations rather  
 encreased? is not all manner of lawdness and  
 the vilest debaucheries, which the late Reigns  
 are made infamous for encouraging by great  
 Examples, now carried to a further degree of  
 Scandal, and a higher pitch of Impudence then  
 ever? are these Morals to draw a blessing upon  
 a Nation, or to procure assistance from Hea-  
 ven?

Have we not likewise among us the Mur-  
 murer, the Discontented, the Envious, and the  
 Buffle body. I dont speak now of the profess'd  
 Enemies of our Establishment, for they though  
 they are with us indeed, and barefaced too, yet they

are



are not of us, they have separate Principles, and separate Ends, and therefore perhaps one may be tempted to wonder at our patience, if they should be suffer'd much longer indistinguishably to mix with us: I mean such as have no disguise for their ill affections, but dare publickly to rejoyce at what all honest men look upon as a National Calamity, and openly repine at, or undervaluingly lessen all our Successes. Is it not yet time to renounce any further Society with those, who have chosen to worship other Gods, and live in a publick Profession of it, especially since their conversation has no other tendency, but to inveigle and delude the unwary, till they can find an opportunity to confound and destroy all. A People must fall unpitied who take no care to secure themselves against an intestine Enemy, that uses no care to conceal himself, I thought there was nothing so sensible as to be despised, I am sure nothing is more visible, than that we are contemptibly treated by these People, and they that have a faculty of bearing it long, are at last thought to deserve it, for I hope our Government is not under such a degree of Impotence, as not to have the means in its hands to vindicate it self: Therefore I dont pretend to concern my self with such as these whom I leave to the Laws, that are already made, or  
if



if they are too weak to restrain them, to such as shall be thought fitter, hoping that no partial considerations inclining to avour some particular persons on other accounts, shall obstruct any vigorous Resolutions to support the Dignity of the Government, and firmly to provide for the Publick Safety. The Persons whom I now speak of, are of a far different sort, whom I look upon as Friends still, though they may be grown cooler upon some melancholy Reflections, as if their Deserts were not enough taken notice of, nor their Services rewarded, the Notion they have entertain'd of Liberty, wont allow them to think it safe, unless the Conservators of it are exactly according to their Standard, the Remembrance of what some of them may have suffer'd in former Reigns, inclines them to forget that An Act of Grace has pass'd since, and therefore they dont consider, that when the consent of a Kingdom has drawn a veil of Oblivion over-past miscarriages, it is then Un-Gentleman-like, if not odious to have too good a Memory. They are too rigid examiners of the mistakes of those, that are not in their good graces, and at the same time overlook perhaps as gross Faults in those whom they honour with their friendship, which yet detracts from the Credit of (what they would pretend to be)

Reformers, and discovers that they are animated by the narrow Spirit of a Party. They only contemplate and expose the frail side of those they dont affect, and wont allow the Ballance to be laid before them, of the Good and Evil they have done, to make a proportionable abatement according to Prudence and Equity. They would introduce a Maxime, then which nothing could be more unjust, nor more unfitted for the Condition of Humane Life, which is a state of Weakness and Recollection, (*viz.*) That no subsequent Behaviour, can expiate for any past failings, which, God be thanked, is not agreeable to Divine Justice, and ought therefore to be suspected, as far as it departs from that Rule. They are so enamoured with their own Capacity, and so fully satisfied that theirs is the proper Talent for business, that they think it is being injurious to the Publick, not to employ them in the way they would propose, and to possess a place, which they conceive would better become themselves, or to enter into a Concurrence with them, are Crimes irremissible. They dont pry, but rake into the Actions of Great men, as if they had an Interest they should be faulty, and were to share in the Forfeiture, or Composition, for they are not sanguinary but by accident, as they may be heated by opposition,

on, otherwise those that have been represented for the blackest Offenders, and even Subverters of Fundamentals, they can be contented that their demission should be their punishment; Thus Guilt sticks to places of Profit and Credit, as the Jewish Leprosie did formerly to the Walls of their Houses, and you must go out of them, to get clear of the Infection. But however that these are Obstacles to the Repose of a Country, which keep it in a constant Vibration, that it cannot find its Center of Settlement, yet since these passions dont fall upon the stupid or unthinking, I hope the good Sense of those who are at present unluckily biaßed by them, will restrain them from sinking the Vessel in which themselves are embark'd, tho' the Helm be not committed to them, I promise my self, that persons of understanding and knowledge of the World, will rather find out means to recover the Ground they seem to have lost, then be obstinate to make their ways more slippery, till they are carried upon a Precipice, where the next step must be inevitable ruine. Their experience will teach them, they ought to be contented to share the Favours of the Government, without engrossing them, and that when a Nation is unhappily divided into Parties, whose numbers are pretty equal, and their interests diametri-



cally opposite. It is then the greatest kindness to each, as well as the concern of the whole, that neither side should be put into the power of the other; but that matters should be managed by ballanc'd Counsels, as Foreigners are tried *per Medietatem Linguae*. They cannot be but now convinc'd, that a censorious stiffness, is only adapted to Plato's imaginary Republick; but Insinuations, proper Condescensions, and reasonable Compliances, are the qualities that recommend at Court, as they do indeed in all other Conversations and Friendships, for that man must live alone, who will be always imposing his own Sense as a Law, who never speaks but to cavil and find fault, and never hears but to contradict, and his advice will be rarely askt, who does not allow a liberty not to follow it, tho' it be found defective and mistaken. They easily see that a King of ripe Years, and mature Judgment wont bear being put back again into Pupillage, nor long understand it as a Service, to be advis'd to clip the Monarchy, to make himself great. When the *Jews* towards the latter end of *Samuel's* judging them, having no good opinion of the Duumvirat of his Sons, who seem'd designed to succeed him, desired a King after the manner of the *Eastern Nations*, which were the Countries about them; *Samuel* fairly laid



laid before them, what were then the Rights of those Monarchies, and what they were to expect under them, that such Princes would command the service of their Persons, and of their Cattle, as their occasions required either; that they would dispose of their Daughters and Young-men into their several Palaces for the uses of their Family, and others they would place in their Military Chambers to be employ'd in their Wars. That they would be Masters of their Lands, and perhaps sometimes make presents of them to their Eunuchs and Favourites, as we see practised in those Countries to this day, where a despotick Form of Government is so Establish'd by the most ancient Prescription, that tho' they sometimes change their Princes, and set up others without regard to the strict Rules of Succession; yet even in those cases they never yet thought of altering the Maxims of their Government, and accommodating them more to private Interest by way of composition with the Successor; but when they give the Crown, they give it with all its Ornaments, and Inherent Rights, as thinking them indivisible from it; nor do we find that the Jews made any exceptions to the declared Prerogatives of those Monarchs, or offer'd any Limitations or Restrictions for their peculiar exemption, but without other Capitulation

lation they still press'd, they might have a King like to their Neighbours. So the People of *England*, when they were justly apprehensive of falling under a Foreign Yoak, *which neither we, nor our Four-fathers could bear*; we then begg'd of Almighty God, that we might have an *English* King, that is, one who should govern us according to our Laws, and not set his own Will above them, who should neither invade our Property, nor lay snares for our Liberty, but should protect both without respecting of persons, and to that end take care of an equal administration of Justice, who should maintain the Religion establish'd, with a tenderness to those, who cannot bring themselves to a conformity to it, and in short, one in whose Reign, Justice and Mercy should meet, and embrace, Charity and mutual forbearance should grow in request and be promoted, and Industry and Honesty should have nothing to fear, but every thing to hope for. Now praised be our God, who hath heard our Prayers, and given us a King and Queen, that are the patterns of Innocency and Moderation, who have no divided Interests from their People, and can have no designs but to make them United and Happy. We have a Prince, who according to the most celebrated Presidents of the best of his Predecessors and Ancestors, is always ready to

to go out with our Hosts, who upon all occasions exposes his Sacred Person, and a Life that is so precious to us, because there are no other means left to preserve us from the devouring Jaw of an overgrown Enemy ; it is his Presence only, and his Credit which can form an Opposition to prevent the Ruine of all Christendom, and the setting up another Universal Monarchy, under which we are sure to be the worst and most inhumanly treated. It is for him therefore *that the Net is spread*, and all the Machinations, that Hell can invent, are put in practise to extinguish the Light of our Eyes, and to stop the Breath of our Nostrils. The Ministers of *France* from Father to Son make Court to their Master, by contriving, or receiving Projects of all sorts of Murders, Poysons and Assassinations, pointing all their Malice against one Crowned Head, being assured, that if ever it takes place, they shall effect, what the bloody Emperor only wished, and at one Blow cut of the whole Force of *Europe*. Ought we not therefore on our side gratefully to consider what we owe to such a Prince, not only for undertaking our Deliverance at first, but that ever since he has declined no hardships nor hazards to procure our Safety and Securiry, will it become us to add to his difficulties and troubles, by our querulous humours,

humours, and giving him occasion to think, that after all we suspect the sincerity of his Intentions, should we not rather jointly endeavour to make the Crown sit easie, where we have so deservedly placed it, should we not be as tender and zealous for what relates to the Head, as for any thing that concerns the Body? or is it more than Justice to give unto *Cæsar*, the things that are *Cæsars*? who is not satisfied? that these are some of the undoubted Prerogatives of a King of *England*, that he should have a settled Revenue fit to support his Dignity, so that he need not be obliged to have recourse to his Peoples Aid to live as a King, but only for the extraordinary occasions of the Kingdom, that he be allowed freely to choose those he will advise with, and please himself in those, he will be served by, and if we cannot bear an abridgment of these Priviledges in a private Family, much less ought they to be repined at in a Sovereign. I dont say, That any ought to be exempt from answering for any enormous Crimes, provided it be not made one, to be a Counsellor or a Servant in Credit with the King, who otherwise, I think, as *St. Paul* pleads for the Labourers in the Gospel, ought to be had in esteem for their works sake; and I cannot but say, they would be very unfairly dealt with, if they should be pointed out, and stand

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as marks for Envy and Malice, only for being capable by their Genius, Assiduity and Abilities to share the Cares, or soften the Toiles and Chagrins, that are inseparable from Royalty.

There remains yet a third sort; who ought not to be passed over in silence, for I fear their number is much more considerable then the former, though that is all that can be considerable in them, and those are the Timorous, the Dispirited, the Unactive, and the Over-credulous always to their own disadvantage; such as these keep us out of *Canaan*, and retard our Settlement, not by any assistance they give our Enemies, for they are not capable of acting either way, but by casting a damp, and discouragement upon the best of Causes, and by with-holding the Divine Assistance, which is never given to those who will not help themselves; to the daring and confiding, God says, be it according to your Faith, but to the faint-hearted Wretch, be it according to your Fears. They retain indeed the Shapes of Men, but they demean themselves, as if they were of the Race of *Issachar*, made to bear burthens and couch under them, they seem to know the blessing of Liberty, and were it to cost them but a Wish, they would not be without it; but they dont enough reflect that in proportion, that any thing is valuable, it must be purchased at a  
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higher Price, they dont look abroad, and see, that in other Countries, they have thought their Freedom from a servile Subjection well bought at the Expence of infinite Treasure, of streams of their Blood, and the continuance of a War from Father to Son. These People hunt after all Reports, and are always doubting of favourable ones, but are struck if any thing goes never so little amiss, they think every disaster is decisive, and that a Cause is lost when ever the Enemy gets any advantage. We read in the *Roman History*, that when the Chance of War turn'd against them, as it did sometimes with a terrible reverse of Fortune, some of their Generals could not bear to survive a Disgrace, but according to the Bravery practis'd in those Times, the Death, they could not meet with, in the heat of Action, they were Authors of to themselves in cold Blood, as thinking it more becoming them, to keep Company with those who died in Battle then, with those who fled from it; but others of them, who had a righter Notion of the many Turns and Accidents in Humane Affairs, and consider'd that Men ought always to strive, and expect that one happy day should repair the injuries of another, they did all they could to make the best of a Retreat, to rally their scatter'd Troops, and bring them into places of Safety,

to be ready for another tryal, and these the Senate always complemented for that they did not cast of all hopes, and despair that the Common-wealth should ever recover their loss. The World is a Scene of variety of all sorts, there is always a Succession of Clouds and Sun-shine, a checquering of Successes and Misfortunes, that no body need to despair, but the brave, the diligent, and the persevering will have their shares of prosperous Events, as they must now, and then, bear the unlucky ones. Those only are mark'd out for ruine, who basely desert themselves, cast away all means of their defence, and the utmost necessity cannot make them valiant. In an Army, it is certain that every man is not alike stout, nay, the difference is vastly great, some have a Natural and Original Courage, which prompts them, (as one may say) to fall on without Officer or Drum, they have a heart to attempt anything, and a resolution to die, or conquer, others only have a copied Courage, and are brave by Imitation, they are animated by great Examples, and ashamed to stay behind, when they see their Companions push on so vigorously; there is a third sort, that as a noble Poet of ours formerly observed, would be Cowards, if they durst, they cant well bear the Face of an Enemy, but when they consider, if they turn their backs,

they ignominiously fall upon the point of an Officers Sword, the more prevailing fear makes them keep their Ranks, stand their Ground, and they make a shift to kill their man *Se Defendendo*, because they can avoid it no longer ; the Case of our Poltrons in the State, if they consider it aright, is not unlike to these in an Army, they would fain be safe themselves, and upon that condition they would hurt no body else, but they dont see, that it is now too late for any such Composition, there is no Medium left, but to contend, or perish, all they can otherwise hope for is to be prisoners at discretion, that is to have their Persons and Estates at the mercy of those, who know none, to be given up to such, who have the *English* Name and Liberty in the greatest Aversion, who will content themselves with nothing less, then to tyrannize over Body and Soul. Do you think you have a *Julius Caesar* to deal with ? who had the Generosity to declare, and the Faith to keep his word, that whoever did not oppose him, he would look upon him as of his side. What is more obvious, then that if you dont maintain your present liberty, you fall into the hands of one, who, tho' his Intentions were never so good, wont have it in his power to perform any thing, that is now promised to lull you asleep, for he must be anothers Servant.



vant, when he is your Master. Though I dont well see what any one can promise himself from his good nature, if he were the Master of it, who in his Declarations set out to prepare his way, and dispose People towards him, publishes his pardons with so many exceptions, that almost every man must think himself excluded from the benefit of them. Those who bungle and are awkward in giving good words and making fair promises when it is palpable they are intended only to cajole and amuse, they leave but an ill impression of their Address and Skill, and none at all of the soundness of their purposes to perform what they would be understood to oblige themselves to, or is it that insincerity for all its Tricks and Grimaces, is not allowed to speak out, and plain, like truth. The Magnanimous only know how to forgive, and to shew pity, but the fearful and the bigotted are cruel both, by nature and principle; can he ever return with real kindness and affections to a People, of whom he spreads abroad those complaints that they have so highly injured, and deserted him? wont all the thanks for his coming back be sent to *Verfailles*, or *Loretto*, and nothing appear here, but the mark of dire Revenge, with a new Edition of the *Western Amnesty*, to be published in all the Countys of *England*; and another Itinerant Executioner dressed up in the shape

shape of a Lord Chief Justice shall be sent down with a Power to hang, and ransom whom he pleases? and have we so soon forgot? that if the covetousness of that bloody Tool, had not counterpois'd his cruelty, scarce any had been left alive in those populous parts of those they thought fit to involve under the Names of Harbourers of Traitors or dangerous to the Government; will he after what hath hapned to him, ever think himself safe in the hands of Protestant Subjects or Guards? but must not his Restorers remain here, and fill the Palace, and City under pretence of his Security? shall not the Ports and Keys of the Kingdom, be deliver'd up to Foreigners? and is not the *Navy of England* to be navigated and commanded by the *French*? When I consider the dreadful Consequences of such a Restoration, I dont know but it may be Charity to wish, that the whole Island should rather be torn up by the Roots by an Earthquake, and be plunged into the Sea, as the Point at *Port Royal* lately was, then that it should stand upon its Basis, to be so long the Theatre of *French* and *Irish* Tragedies, till every man has his ears bored through, and the indelible Characters of perpetual slavery are stamp'd upon all that shall be permitted to survive, would this be called living? then so may damnation too, which is but the  
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unterminable Duration of a miserable being. But, God be thanked, I see no reason to apprehend, that we are so near falling into this wretched condition, which nothing but our own Cowardise, Treachery, and Penuriousness can subject us to. I dont pretend to extenuate our dangers, or vainly to say, there is no ground for our fears. It must be acknowledged that God has been pleased in our days to raise up a Prince whose formidable power is become the Amazement, as well as the Terror of all *Europe*; a Prince, who to the Intrinsick Strength he had in commanding over so large, so fertile, so populous, so industrious a Kingdom, hath added to it the spoils of a'l his Neighbours, he hath several Armies to act in all the Extremities of his Dominions, with which and a Chain of fortified Towns on his Frontiers he hath as it were *encompassed himself with a Wall of Brass*, he hath a Treasure scarce to be exhausted, which does not only answer all the occasions at home, of Fleets, Armies, Fortifications, Magazines, Necessity and Magnificence, but has yet enough left to corrupt a great part of the Courts of Christendom, and to influence even the Counsels of Infidels, he does not satisfy himself to purchase now and then a single Secret, but is able to buy whole sets of Counsellors, nay, he hath so much to offer, that Princes themselves,



selves, and even Crowned Heads are scarce  
 proof against it. Can we not remember when  
 Prorogations and Dissolutions of Parliament  
 were traffiqued for, Compositions made for Neu-  
 tralities, the Price paid at *Whitehall*, and a Page  
 of the back Stairs erected into a Treasurer *Quoad*  
*hoc*, for receiving this goodly secret service mony,  
 which we now feel, what a disservice it has  
 proved to the Publick, what we have seen done  
 here, may we not easily imagine to be still  
 practised in other parts, nay as great as this  
 Princes Wealth is, his ambition is yet more end-  
 less and unbounded, which neither declining  
 years, nor growing infirmities can correct or  
 moderate, he makes War for his Glory, and  
 Peace he calls his Guist, and so he may lenty  
 too, with a much juster Title, but that he keeps  
 to himself while all Mankind starves about him,  
 except those only that live upon his Basket.  
*Europe, Africk, and America* can give Testimony to  
 the vastness of his Designs, tho' they have not  
 equally prosper'd in all places, and it is not long  
 since that they began to disclose themselves too in  
*Asia*, but the Climate was too warm for them,  
 what have we seen in a long Reign of forty  
 eight years, but some Princes and States unjustly  
 attacked, others menaced, Popes crouching to  
 redeem his displeasure, the dispensers of pardons  
 forced

forced to ask one, on the other side multitudes of his own Subjects for keeping a good Conscience, first circumvented by strains of Law, then driven out to seek protection elsewhere, contrary to all Law, Faith, and Prudence. Capital Cities Bombarded, and laid in ashes for every light offence, and the injured obliged at last to make the Satisfaction, Towns surpriz'd in Times of Peace, without any provocation given, and for no other reason but that of conveniency, Princes stript of their Territories and never more admitted to re-enter, because they were suspected not to incline to his Interests, and their Conduct was displeasing, Provinces ravish'd and dismembred upon Titles that had been abjured, and what before was but an encroachment upon Neighbours, or devouring by peace-meales is now turn'd into an attempt to swallow all *Europe*. But what then? must we give up our selves as a Prey, because the mighty *Nimrod* pursues us; if we may say with *David*, that we are surrounded with Enemies on every side, that they gape upon us, and are ready to devour us, can't we take up his confidence too, and trust that God will deliver us, if we act like men, and look up to him for his Salvation. If all great difficulties must be submitted to, and force and violence, for being exorbitant, may not be resisted, then the most

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Heroick

Heroick of all Vertues, Fortitude is but an empty Name, which is only conversant about things not easie to be attempted, or surmounted, it does not indeed seek contention, but where it is unreasonably urged, it never declines it; in calm and quiet times it gives way to Civil and Domestick Concerns, and like some Roman Commanders, 'tis found at the Plow, or in some Rural Occupation, till the Service of ones Country, or the Insolence of an Enemy, rouzes the noble Passion, arms it with anger and disdain, and then all opposition is but food to an aspiring flame, which it catches at, works it self into, and reduces to nothing. Incredible at most have been the Successes of those, who have taken up a Resolution never to yield, and some from a low Ebb of Fortune, have recover'd themselves, and lost nothing, because they were willing to hazard All. The Gauls and Carthaginians both over-run *Italy* in their Turns, yet they who prevail'd over an entire State, were baffled by a broken one. We once thought our selves Masters of *France*, when a nick-named King of *Bourges* canton'd in his own Country, recover'd *Paris*, and the whole Kingdom again. What shall we say? that there are stated bounds set to the Rage of Men, as well as to the swelling of the waters, or that such is the Power of Vigour and



and Constancy that it runs an Enemy out of breath, and finds out a weak side, which only long grappling together could discover; the Ancients knew not better how to express such a surprizing Change, then by saying their blind Goddess was either wearied, or relented; but it becomes Christians rather with humility to own, that the most reduced State is the proper Season for the Almighty to arise, and confound the Arrogant Oppressor, and to make it appear *that he is a present help in time of need.* But though I have not disguis'd any thing of our Enemies Strength, because I would not abate our vigilance, and preventing care, yet I am far from thinking, that our case is any way desperate, or without resource, if we do but make use of the means, that are still in our hands for our preservation.

In the days of *Elijah* when the *Israelites* were parched with drought, and a three years longing expectation of a change of Weather, and *that the time of their refreshing was come,* the Directions the Prophet gave to his Servant were, arise, go up now, and look towards the Sea, which he often repeated, reporting at first, that he saw nothing, but at last a Cloud began to appear, which soon o're-spread the whole Face of Heaven; if we after some years disappointment would cast our eyes the same way, we should see that which

would be no small comfort to us at present, and what may be yet much more extensive in its consequences, we may contemplate a Fleet design'd to have surpriz'd us, before we were all joined, and after that to have convoyed over an Army of *French* and *Irish*, who were to have laid the Kingdom desolate, in order to settle it, I say we might have seen those fallen into a Pit who had digg'd it for others, surpriz'd themselves to find us better prepared to receive them, then they expected, and that they could not now retire, till they were beaten, burnt and scatter'd so, as to run to Rocks and Shoals for shelter. But I shant enlarge further upon this Subject, because I dont doubt, but it is, (as it ought ever to be) fresh in every mans memory: But it suffices me to observe that the *French* are not without their mistakes and failing in conduct, as also that Success is not chained to all their Enterprizes. If the Prospect at Land has not been hitherto altogether so pleasant, yet I dont see, what there is there to terrifie, or distract us, that the *French* should now and then surprize a Neighbouring Town at the very opening of the Year, is no such startling thing, if it be considered, that they make use of a Season, in which nothing hinders, but they may unite their whole Force, and bring it all to bear upon one place, that they are under

no necessity of management for any manner of expence necessary to the War, but have their  
• Magazines all filled for the Subsistence of any number of Men and Horses, and are provided with Artillery at hand sufficient to lay all flat before them, which makes them quicker in their executions, then any relief can be in assembling, and the advantages being so great in gaining a little time, it ought to teach others not to favour an Enemies being early in the Field, whilst they are perhaps deliberating about their Preparations: But that the *French* should act defensively all the rest of the Campaign (as they have done of late since His Majesty has been pleased to take upon him the Conduct of the War in *Flanders*) proves at least that they rely more upon Policy, and Stratagem then the Courages of their Men as superiour to ours, and therefore I know not why we should sink in our own Opinion of our selves.

But to make it further appear what little reason we have to distrust the goodness of our Troops, I am not afraid to instance in the late Action at *Steenkerk*, however others have drawn out of it a Subject for their boasting, that we should take a long march to attack the French in their Camp (which they know so well how to choose) is an argument that we seek as  
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much the occasions to give them Battle, as they industriously avoid them; that about twenty Battalions of ours should be engaged with above double the number of the Enemy, that they should beat them from post to post, till they were Masters of two of their Batteries, kill and wound almost as many of them as our whole number amounted to, shews that whenever the advantage shall be equal on both sides, or that the disadvantage is not intollerable, we may hope to give a good account of them; if the straitness of the ground or any other Obstacles, which I dont pretend to be well enough versed in military matters to explain, kept their Foot from being ruined that day, they ought rather to ascribe it to their good fortune, then any of their performances: It is no small sign how desirous they are, to have as few such to oppose them as may be, since they made such extravagant offers to draw the wounded Prisoners into their Service, and used so many artifices to detain those that would not be tempted, which tho' it was notoriously unjust, as being contrary to the Faith of their Cartel, yet one can't say it was imprudent, having made so late a tryal what those men were able to do, who, it is certain, behaved themselves to the admiration of both Parties. A passionate love to ones Country will excuse one



one, if I confine my self more particularly to take notice of those that went from hence, of whom I have heard that honourable Character, that for their zeal and fidelity to their Majesties Service, for their union among themselves, without any of those distinctions, that are kept up with such violence in the rest of the Kingdom, and for the gayety and briskness, with which they are led on to Action, that rather increases in it, they are to be compared with any Body of Men, that are in any part of the World, whose undauntedness of Courage prognosticks, that they may one day sully the Glory of him, that proudly takes to himself the Name of *Invincible*. These then are the Foundations we have to depend upon, under God, a victorious Navy, and untainted Army, which has already done great things in *Ireland*, as an earnest of what may be expected from them in other parts. It remains therefore on our part to give fitting encouragement both to one and to the other, those whom their Circumstances exempt from fighting for their Country, have yet a share to bear in the defence of it, which is freely to contribute to maintain such as are not sparing of their blood for their sakes. As we are Islanders, I suppose it is not to be feared that we shall neglect the Sea, but I know not whether every one is as fully possessed

sed of the equal usefullness of an Army to act offensively by Land.

If there be any such, I hope they will rectifie their mistake, when they reflect we are too near the Continent, not to be concerned in whatever is doing there, especially on our opposite Coast, the Parliaments in King *Charles* the 2<sup>d</sup>. time, even when they they were most suspected to follow blindfold the inclinations of the Court, were yet so sensible, of how fatal a consequence it would be to Us here, if the French King should be suffered to be Master of the *Spanish Netherlands*, that they never failed to lay hold on all occasions to make vehement Addresses on that account, with offers of their Lives and Fortunes to preserve that Barrier; and can we now with indifference look upon the further Progress that is made there, when nothing is left to put any stop to their being possess'd of the poor remainder, but that which is indeed the best of Ramparts, the Bodies of Men, and if any considerations should make us lay open that Bulwark by withdrawing our joint assistance, what is more visible, then that not only *Flanders* would be immediately overrun, but *Holland* too would be reduced to the last extremity, if they could not save themselves by submitting to any Conditions that should be imposed. In all which cases what would our  
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cautious Maximes avail us, of depending upon our Situation, either to act defensively, or to manage the War separately, I fear we should make a wrong Calculation, if we think our selves stronger then the French at Sea without our conjunction with the Dutch, as it is certain they cant carry on the War at Land without our help.

If we first renounce the Terms of the Alliance we teach others to follow the example, and to take no care but for themselves; if by this means the Dutch Squadron should stay at home, I would fain know, whether we do not then lose more Ships, than were burnt of the French last Summer; if we have been so provident as to secure a reserve to supply their places in some measure, have we found Seamen so plentiful as to man many more Ships than those we have set out hitherto; or does any body doubt, but the French have all along been building as fast as we, and who can tell, but they have resources besides, which we have not: There are Princes very powerful at Sea, who have not yet taken party in this War, and Ships of all Rates may be hired compleatly equipped, as sometimes Land forces are. Should we once bring our selves to such a confession of our weakness, as to play only a defensive game; I am apt to believe we shall find our selves mistaken even in

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the managing part, and be no such savers, as we make an account for; if a strong diversion be not made abroad, we shall be so much the more liable to be insulted at home, which a long extended open Coast does sufficiently expose us to, together with an inviting party among ourselves, who daily shew with impunity, not only a disposition, but an impatience to joyn with our Enemies, and this will put us under a necessity of keeping an Army in the Bowels of our Country, who can never be supposed to be so well disciplined, but it will be more for the general interest, and particularly for that of landed men, whatever the disadvantage may be pretended in carrying out mony to pay them abroad, rather to leave them there still to forage in places, where long usage has made it more tollerable.

A Descent (no doubt) such as his Majesty has been pleased to declare he intends, would above all things revive the Spirits of this drooping Country, and (by Gods assistance) raise its reputation to the pitch it has been at in former Ages, but then it must not be undertaken by halves, nor with a neglect of what advantages a vigilant Enemy may draw from it, while such a design is putting in execution; least that might be to endeavour only to wound him in a Limb, in a



remote Province, and receive our selves at the same time a mortal Wound in a vital part, for such I must look upon *Flanders* and *Holland* to be, which in the posture of this War, stand as the Outworks to *England*, and those being once lost, I question whether there be any other choice left, but to fall by Storm or Surrender. It may be ill curing by revulsion, if care be not taken to prevent the parties falling into a greater weakness by the remedy. *Scipio* did not carry the War into *Africk*, till *Marcellus* in many tryals had given an assurance, they could make a stand in *Italy*: Till we can have some satisfaction of the same nature, ought we not rather to apply our vigour, where we may at once both pary and thrust.

Supposing a Descent not yet practicable with a Defence, we must look upon *Flanders* as the weak side of *France*, on this account at least that it is the only part where it can be come at at present, and it is a sign they have that opinion of it themselves, by their covering it in that manner with Fortifications, where any Frontier Town hath an inaccessible side by reason of a Morass, steep Rock, or the like, it requires little cant or expence to secure it, as far as that goes, I dont say this is the Situation of the other parts of *France*, but they have an advantage almost equivalent to it, which is they find themselves safe from any

very vigorous Attack on their *East-side*, till a Peace with the *Turk*, will allow more, and better Troops to be drawn down that way. In the mean time it were to be wished, not only that care should be taken to keep up our numbers compleat (which by the by I think ought not to be left so much to chance and uncertainty, as that our defence should rely wholly on the Scum and Tatters of the Town and Country, which are ordinarily your volunteer recruits) but that we should rather strain to augment, then diminish them. If the Enemy increaseth in Strength every Year, and we lessen ours, or keep at a stand, we may quickly see an end of the War, but it will be with our ruine. I am aware that the main objection against all that is here touch'd upon remains yet to be spoken to, which is in short a want of money, and that nothing can act beyond its power; I allow the Maxime is true, but I hope the Application is wrong in the present Case. To be engaged in a War, and not to feel it, is a vain Imagination; but if the War we are entered into, be unavoidable, if it is for our All, and that money is the Sinews of it, there is no doubt, but it must be had, if it can be found. It is better paid to keep danger at a distance, then to redeem a Military Execution, and the one or the other is like to be our

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Lot. By our way of Living, and by the Course of our Trade, one would not think that we are so far exhausted, as some People seem to complain, we have yet wherewithal for superfluities, no price deters us from gratifying our vanity and luxury, and while that lasts, all close-handedness in a common Concern, will look more like a grudging of the Publick, then any real necessity. I dont say but some branches may be as far charged, as they will reasonably bear, but are there not others that have not yet been try'd? we see the industry of our Enemies and of our Friends too, who leave no stone unturn'd, but daily set on foot new Projects and Proposals to provide for the growing Occasions, if we cant invent, I wish we could imitate, the Abuse of these things lies only in the continuance of them, beyond the necessity that first enforces them, which no constitution of Government can so well remedy, as we may; but otherwise all Methods taken up by Publick Authority in the Case of Self-preservation are just and honest; *skin for skin, and all that a man has, will he give for his life,* is not more a Description of the practice of Mankind then it is an Advice, what ought to be done in such Emergencies, he cannot be accounted an Englishman, who does not value this cause at the same rate, in which not on'y his own being



is concern'd, but the being of the whole *English* Nation down to all posterity. Is not this enough to justify either *French, Dutch, or Moscovitish* ways (if you will) when others fail to raise money in proportion to the want of it. I have wonder'd to see some men busie themselves in writing studied Pamphlets against this, or that way of raising of money, without being pleased to extend their care a little further, to shew us at the same time, how the Publick should be otherwise supplied. I know not whether such Authors may not be something of the Humour of the Mob, that will gut, or pull down a Fabrick for nothing, when they wont lay a Brick, or a Plank towards repairing it, without being paid for it, but do they think? every thing is to be rejected, in which they can remark an inconvenience, prudential deliberations have comparative good and evil for their Object, and that is best, which has the least of ill in it; now I would gladly be resolved by these nice Examiners of Matters, which is more eligible to run a more then probable risque of losing all one has, or to pay a tenth, an eighth, or some such rateable part out of ones Expences by a General Excise. I would not be misunderstood, I am not pleading for an Excise, nor do I know any body that would, but upon a Supposition, that it is the only way left for



for our Safety, I know these are cases reserved to a Parliament, which no body ought therefore to meddle with, either to write for, or against, it belongs only to them to consider in what measure they will supply Their Majesties, and they are the sole Judges, by what method it is fit to be done, so that it is as much a presumption for people without doors to prevent them, as it would be to prescribe to them. But otherwise if this were a point proper to be argued, I must confess nothing would incline me more to think well of a General Excise, then some of the Objections that I find made against it. When I see it represented sometimes as a Fond that would make Parliaments useless, and at other times, that it is able to furnish besides what is necessary for all extraordinary occasions, money enough to bribe both Houses to consent to keep it up, I can fancy it no less then a Treasure equal to the Revenue of *France*, having hitherto believed that nothing but that was strong enough to work such wonderful effects; and I am tempted to wish, that the Author was known, and that his judgment was such as might be safely relied upon, I should then rejoyce, that the Nation had so rich a Mine yet unopen'd, reserv'd like a Sacred Treasure, (as they say there was at *Rome*,) not to be touch'd, but upon an Invasion of the Gauls, that is the *French*: not doubting but let the Sum be never so great, a Salvo would be found against all the Romantick Notions of the Uses it would be put to, I am satisfied that it ought to be the least of our fears, that a Parliament should ever be brought to give once for all, we have a notable Instance to the contrary in one of the late Reigns, nor do I conceive how it can be imagined, that an excise like the *Trojan Horse* should carry a House of Commons in its belly, so as there needs only but to open the Machine, and out comes three or four hundred Members at least, of what size or complexion you

you would have them, does any body think in good earnest, that either the Freeholders, or Burgers of *England* are all such Cullies, or the Excise-men generally such Darlings of the People, that for their sakes, they should irresistibly choose those for their Representatives, who will not only perpetuate what is supposed to be extremely burthensome, but endanger their liberty of choice for the future. Besides the reflection is very unjust, as well as indecent upon the King, to load him with the suspicion of any such design, who having voluntarily given up a considerable Revenue, which was for ever fixed in the Crown, and that somewhat unseasonably too, (if one may say so) for the ease of his People, ought to have removed all jealousy, as if he were capable of grasping at more, or detaining any thing longer, then it may be subservient to our security; but such Arguments as these serve only to introduce a clouded Phantome, contrived to scare People with, which no body sure will break his neck out of a Window, to avoid. Therefore I shall pursue this matter no further, remembering the Bounds, within which it is circumscribed, and acquiescing in the Wisdom of those, who are now assembled to deliberate upon the most important Points, that were ever under the consideration of an *English* Parliament; beseeching God to direct and invigorate their Counsels, that maturely weighing the difficulties we labour under, both from within, and without, they may proportion their advices and assistances, according to the urgency of Affairs, so that Generations to come may rise up, and bless them for continuing down to them the civil and religious Liberties which we now enjoy.

F I N I S.